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Message Text

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62
ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 NIC-01 IO-10 ACDA-05 CIAE-00

DODE-00 PM-03 H-01 INR-07 L-02 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01

RSC-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SAJ-01 /080 W
---------- 040000
R 051634Z FEB 75
FM AMEMBASSY MOSCOW
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6929
INFO AMCONSUL HONG KONG
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TAIPEI
AMEMBASSY TOKYO
USLO PEKING
CINCPAC

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E.O. 11652 N/A
TAGA: PFOR, CH, UR
SUBJECT: SOVIETS BLAST NEW PRC CONSTITUTION

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

1. SUMMARY. IN ITS FIRST MAJOR COMMENTARY ON THE RESULTS OF THE RECENT CHINESE NATIONAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESS (NPC), MOSCOW HAS DENOUNCED THE NEW PRC CONSTITUTION AS AN INSTRUCMENT WHICH CONFIRMS "MAOIST" INSTITUTIONS AGAINST THE INTERESTS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE. THE COMMENTARY SHARPLY CRITICIZES THE NEW CONSTITUTION FOR LEADING PEKING AWAY FROM COOPERATION WITH THE SOCIALIST COMMUNITY, FOR SUBVERTING DEMOCRATIC PROCESSES AND FOR HARPING ON THE NEED TO PREPARE FOR WAR. THE ARTICLE FOCUSES NARROWLY ON THE CONSTITU-TION, WITHOUT MENTIONING THE NEW LEADERSHIP, AND ITS SUBSTANCE IS IDELOGICAL RATHER THAN OPERATIONAL. YET IT CONVEYS A CLEAR SOVIET ANXIETY THAT THE CONSTITUTION CODIFIES THE PROCESS BY WHICH CHINA WILL PERPETUATE MOAISM EVEN AFTER THE GREAT HELMSMAN IS NO
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LONGER AMONG THE LIVING. END SUMMARY.

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2. PRAVDA (FEBRUARY 5) CARRIES MOSCOW'S FIRST AUTHORITATIVE COMMENT ON THE RECENT CHINESE NPC. THE ARTICLE, CALLED "SLOGANS AND PRACTICES," APPEARS OVER THE PSEUDONYM "I. ALEKSANDROV," WHICH SIGNIFIES AUTHORITATIVE AUTHORSHIP. IT DEALS IN GREAT DETAIL WITH THE NEW PRC CONSTITUTION, WHICH IT DESCRIBED AS A STEP BACKWARD FROM THE CONSTITUTION OF 1954, AND NOT MERELY A REVISION BUT A COMPLETE CHANGE FROM THAT DOCUMENT. IT CHARGES THAT BY REMOVING REFERENCES IN THE EARLIER CONSTITUTION TO FRIENDSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE SOCIALIST BROTHERHOOD, AND BY FORMALIZING NEW INSTITUTIONS CREATED DURING THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, THE MAOIST MILITARY-BUREAUCRATIC CLIQUE SEEKS TO STRENGTHEN ITS CONTROL OVER THE COUNTRY AND LEAD THE CHINESE PEOPLE AWAY FROM THE TRUE PATH OF SOCIALISM.

3. MUCH OF THE ARTICLE DEALS WITH MAOIST DEVIATIONISM, PARTICULARLY CONCERNING THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT. ALEKSANDROV POINTS REPEATEDLY TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION WHICH ALLEGEDLY SUBVERT "DEMOCRATIC" RIGHTS AND PRACTICES AND REPLACE THEM WITH ORGANS MORE SUBJECT TO CENTRAL CONTROL. THESE INSTITUTIONS, BORN IN THE CULTURAL REVOLUTION, DO NOT SERVE THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING CLASS, THE MINORITIES OR OTHER CITIZENS, SAYS ALEKSANDROV, BUT RATHER DEPRIVE THEM OF EARLIER GUARANTEES AND RIGHTS. BY STRESSING THE NEED TO CONTINUE THE CLASS STRUGGLE, SAYS ALEKSANDROV, THE MAOISTS JUSTIFY "TERROR AND REPRESSION AGAINST THOSE DISSATISFIED WITH THE MAOSIT REGIME." BY ENSHRINING MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOTSETUNG THOUGH AS STATE DOCTRINE, THE CHINESE SOUGHT TO UNITE THAT WHICH COULD NOT BE UNITED, PRAVDA STATES.

4. IN ADDITION TO THIS HEAVY IDELOGICAL BARRAGE ON VIRTUALLY ALL ASPECTS OF THE CONSITITUION, THE ARTICLE GENERATES REAL HEAT ON THE CALL IN THE CONSTITUTION PREAMBLE TO PREPARE FOR WAR. THE MAOISTS, IT CHARGES, ARE TRYING TO PUSH MANKIND TOWARD A WORLD WAR, TO MAKE PEOPLE SERVE AS "SMALL CHANGE" IN THEIR GREAT-HAN HEGEMONISTIC AMBITIONS, "TO WARM THEIR HANDS FROM THE FLAMES OF A WORLD CONFLAGRATION" (THE LATTER PHRASE ALSO APPEARED IN A COMMENTARY BY YURI ZHUKOV ON OCTOBER 19, SEE MOSCOW 15954). THIS EXPOSES THE "ADVENTURISM, AMORALITY AND INHUMANITY OF THE FOREIGN POLICY STRIVING OF THE MAOIST LEADERSHIP."
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5. THE ARTICLE GOES ON TO SAY THAT THE PLA, UNDER THE NEW CONSTITUTION, FALLS UNDER THE CONTROL OF THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND IS PUSHED INTO DOMESTIC POLITICAL AND POLICE FUNCTIONS. ITS ROLE, SAYS ALEKSANDROV, IS NO LONGER TO DEFEND THE COUNTRY BUT TO PREPARE FOR WAR. THE ARTICLE CHARGES THAT THE MAOISTS BELIEVE THAT POWER LIES NOT WITH THE PEOPLE BUT WITH BAYONETS. THE MAOSISTS SEEK "TO CONCEAL THE POLITICAL CRISIS OF THE REGIME AND THE

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IDEOLOGICAL PAUCITY OF MAOISM," AND THE NEW CONSTITUTION CHARTS A COURSE WHICH HAS ALREADY LEAD TO THE "SERIOUS DEFORMATION OF SOCIALISM" IN THE PRC. THE ARTICLE NOTES MAO'S ABSENCE FOR THE CONGRESS, BUT COMMENTS MERELY THAT IT WAS "NOT ACCIDENTAL."

6. THE ARTICLE CLOSES WITH A PARAGRAPH ON SOVIET FAITH IN THE EVENTUAL RETURN OF THE CHINES PEOPLE TO THE PATH OF RIGHTEOUSNESS, BUT ITIMPLIES LITTLE HOPE THAT THIS CHANGE WILL COME SOON.

7. COMMENT. BY FOCUSING CHIEFLY ON IDEOLOGICAL AND TEXTUAL QUESTIONS, THE ARTICLE AVOIDS DEALING WITH THE NEW PRC LEADERSHIP OR WITH THE IMPLICATIONS FOR CURRENT SOVIET POLICY. MOSCOW'S LONG DELAY IN COMMENTING MAY IMPLY THAT THERE WAS SOME QUESTION ABOUT HOW TO DEAL WITH THE RESULTS OF THE NPC, AND THE ABSENCE OF COMMENT ON THE NEW PRC LEADERSHIP TEAM MAY STILL REFLECT SUCH CAUTION. BUT THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT THE INTENSITY OR THE AUTHORITY OF THIS DENUNCIATION. THE ARTICLE SEES NO POSITIVE SIGNS IN THE CONSTITUTION. THE ARTICLE MAKES IT CLEAR THAT MOSCOW VIEWS THE PROMULGATION OF THE NEW CONSTITUTION AS ANOTHER BRIDGE CROSSED ON PEKING'S JOURNEY AWAY FROM THE TRUE FAITH. THE NAGGING, BITING TONE OF THE ARTICLE ALSO IMPLIES THAT MOSCOW DOES NOT EXPECT AN EARLY REVERSAL OF DIRECTION. THE CONSTITUTION, IN MOSCOW' EYES, PROBABLY PROVIDES THE FRAMEWORK FOR THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO PERPETUATE MAOISM AFTER MAO.
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